

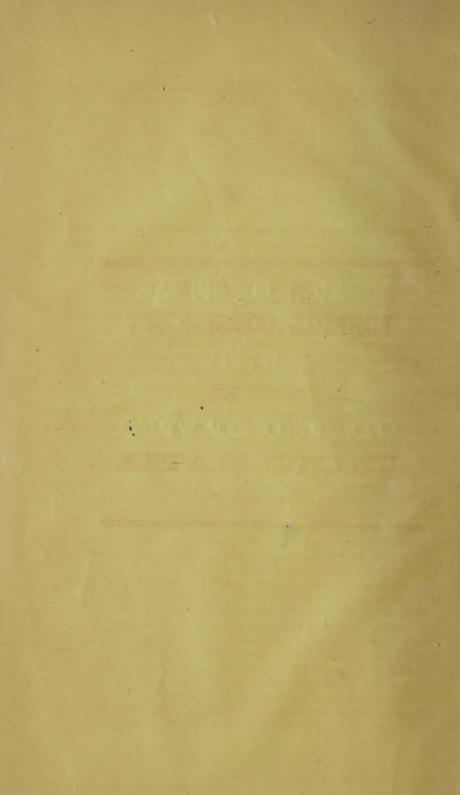


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CAUSES OF THE PRESENT CRISIS.

So much has been said and written upon the slavery question, that to add any thing seems almost a work of supererogation. The intention of this pamphlet is not to discuss the right or wrong, the advantages or disadvantages, of this institution; but there are considerations connected with this subject which have hitherto been to a great extent, overlooked, while their importance is such as to commend them to the attention of every American patriot. Our path is beset with snares and pitfalls, and the enemies of free institutions are plotting the destruction of our system of government, while few even of our Statesmen seem to be aware of the dangers which environ us. An effort is here made to point out and to prove that there are two formidable schemes in operation to destroy this Government.

The two schemers, are the English Government and the Jesuits or the Austrian Government. Diverse and antagonistic as they

are, still, in their scheming they sometimes act in concert.

At the first whisper of Jesuitism, the hue and cry of religious intolerance, proscription and persecution will be raised. Accusation will be made, that it is desired to array Protestants against Catholics. These, and various other pretexts, will be resorted to, in order to divert attention from the true issue.

But when we find in our midst men who come purposely to pervert our institutions and destroy our liberties, shall we sit still and let them do their work unmolested, simply because they make

use of a church as a cloak for their evil deeds?

If we cannot, as a nation, do something to protect ourselves without the reproach of being intolerant, then let us take the re-

proach.

When our ancestors settled the British colonies of North America, they came here with a supreme regard to the enjoyment of their liberty and their religion. They left home and friends, and though they came here to find a new home, they ever looked to and spoke of England, as home.

Enjoying the luxuries of peace and plenty, we can scarcely realize the almost insurmountable trials and difficulties they had to endure. And in all their troubles they had so little sympathy

and aid from the home government, the wonder is not that they became independent at last, but that they did not revolt years before.

The French, who had formed alliances with the Indians on the St. Lawrence nearly a hundred years before the pilgrims landed, were still on friendly terms with them, and as England and France were rivals, the French with the Indians as allies, were constantly encroaching upon the British colonies.

With these enemies, the Colonists had to contend from the year 1675, when the first general war, called "Philip's war" commenced, to the year 1783. Within this period there were seven

wars.

The first was excited by Philip, and was confined to the savages against the English. The five following were stimulated by the French, who supplied them with all the means that ingenuity and wealth could command. These, added to Indian cunning, treachery and cruelty, were sufficiently formidable; but when the expeditions were planned by European officers, who, instead of discountenancing the inhuman and barbarous modes of warfare practised by the Indians, actually encouraged them by offering a reward for scalps taken by their savage allies, the results were too horrible to be thought of.

This devastation and slaughter were sanctioned by the Jesuit priests, and these savages, while their hands were yet dropping blood, were caressed and cherished by men, regarded by them as superior beings, and professing themselves to be followers of the

Saviour.

The last of the seven wars was instigated by Great Britain du-

ring the Revolution.

By the treaty of Paris in 1763, Canada was secured to Great Britain, and when the Revolutionary war commenced, Lord Suffolk, in the House of Peers, undertook to defend the employment of the Indians, in the war. His lordship contended, that besides its policy and necessity, the measure was also allowable on principle, for that, "it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that God and nature put into our hands to subdue America."

"I AM ASTONISHED! (exclaimed Lord Chatham, as he rose) shocked! to hear such principles confessed, to hear them avowed in this house, or in this country—principles equally unconstitutional, inhuman and unchristian. Spain armed herself with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of America; and we improve on the inhuman example even of Spanish cruelty; we turn loose these savage hell-hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties and religion, and endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity."

Notwithstanding this protest, the Indians continued to be em-

ployed, and all the horrible consequences realized.

But, with all the means which God and nature had put into her hands, after spending seven hundred and fifty millions of dollars and at the loss of hundreds of thousands of her best men, she lost her hold upon us as English colonies, and was obliged to acknowledge our independence to the world, but never for a moment giving up the idea, that she would, at some future time, regain her dominion over us; or at least, over the New England States.

To accomplish this, it was necessary that her whole policy should

be changed, not only here but elsewhere.

With a superabundant and starving population which she must keep employed in manufacturing and commercial pursuits, England felt no interest in the colonists, except as customers for her merchandise.

There were magnificent ideas about the extent of commercial exchange as the population increased, and all the restrictions upon the commerce, navigation, and manufactures of the colonies, were imposed with the intention of confining the national industry to agriculture, or to make us the producers of food and of raw materials to be manufactured in England.

While we were British Colonies, every vessel launched and every sail flung to the winds was an addition to the maritime strength of England; but when she lost her hold upon us our po-

sition was entirely changed.

She has been called mistress of the seas, and a choice saying of Englishmen has been "the sea is ours." To retain this position, every thing must be done to prevent the commerce of America from coming into competition with the commerce of England. To accomplish this it was essential that the East India trade should be extended; and as the most effectual mode of producing this desirable result, the slave trade must be broken up.

By the Assiento of 1713, a company of English merchants undertook to supply the Spanish American Colonies with negro slaves for thirty years. It soon passed into the hands of the English

government, and was vested in the South Sea Company.

By the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, this Assiento was confirmed, by which the Royal African Company gave to Spain 200,000 crowns, and to the King of Spain and Queen of England, each, one quarter share in the profits of their trade.

Finding this trade exceedingly profitable it was extended to the British Colonies much against the will of the people, both North

and South.

About this time, Queen Anne directed the colonial government of New York "to take care that the Almighty should be devout-

ly and duly served according to the rites of the Church of England, and also, that the Royal African Company should be encouraged, and that the colony should have a constant and sufficient

supply of merchantable negroes at moderate rates."

Thus it will be seen that English interest forced slavery upon us. A want of laborers combined with an enervating climate, made it a permanent institution at the South, where the slaves thrived, whereas at the North, a cool bracing climate enabled the white man to labor, while the slave, shivering with cold, was soon frozen out. Besides being unprofitable in the North, there was more or less aversion on the part of the New Englanders to holding slaves. This too was the case in the South until it was demonstrated beyond question, that white laborers could not endure the heat of the climate.

From the first dawn of maritime enterprise in Great Britian, the trade of India was contemplated as its grandest object. Into the sanguine conceptions formed on the subject much illusion entered; yet there were circumstances which, even at that early stage of mercantile adventure, threw peculiar lustre on the trade of India, enhanced, no doubt, by the remembrance of the immense wealth brought by the ships of Solomon from Ophir, supposed to

be India.

All that had been done in the trade up to the year 1600, was by private enterprise. At this time a company was chartered and rechartered at various times until 1773, when the East India bill was passed, placing the affairs in the hands of the Government.

England saw that if she could exchange her manufactures for the tropical products of India, she could still command the sea and its commerce, because she would find a market in every sea-

port.

To accomplish this, she must be able to undersell all the world. Profitable as the slave trade had been and still was, it must be sacrificed to prevent the Spanish American colonies, Brazil and the United States, from underselling England in foreign markets. This could only be done by cutting off the the supply of laborers. Sir Robert Peel said, the East Indian could not successfully compete with the American slave.

But England dare not avow her motives even at home, as too much capital was invested in the slave trade. To conceal her real intentions, the mask of religion and philanthropy was put on. The proposition to abolish the slave trade was brought up, discussed, and voted down, time after time, in the British Parliament,

until 1807, when it was finally abolished.

When England found that breaking up the slave trade would not cripple our commerce as she hoped, she commenced a system of outrageous aggressions upon our shipping. Her spies were scattered over the country, gathering up all the information that could be made available, as well as sowing dissensions among the neonle. And in 1809, while peaceful negotiations were in progress to settle the difficulties between the two nations, Sir James H. Craig, then Governor General of the British provinces in North America, employed Captain J. Henry as a secret agent or spy to go to Boston and enter into negotiations with those opposed to the Government. In his letter of instruction he says: 16 It has been supposed that if the Federalists of the Eastern States should be successful in obtaining that decided influence which may enable them to direct the public opinion, it is not improbable that, rather than submit to a continuance of the difficulties and distress to which they are now subject, they will exert that influence to bring about a separation from the general union. information on this subject may be of great consequence to our government, as it may also be, that it should be informed how far. in such an event, they would look to England for assistance or be disposed to enter into a connection with us."

Henry went to Burlington, Vermont, where he says: "I have remained two days in order fully to ascertain the progress of the arrangements heretofore made for organizing an efficient opposition to the General Government." And the Governor makes no secret of his determination, as commander-in-chief of the militia, to refuse obedience to any command from the General Government which can tend to interrupt the good understanding that prevails between the citizens of Vermont and his majesty's sub-

iects in Canada."

In the eastern part of the state, secession was not so popular. Henry went to Boston and there found so many opposed to the general government and so communicative, that he obtained all the information necessary, without being obliged to produce his credentials.

He says "it does not appear necessary that I should discover to any person the purpose of my visit to Boston. I have sufficient means of information to enable me to judge of the proper period for offering the co-operation of Great Britain, and opening correspondence between the Governor General of British America and those individuals who, from the part they take in the opposition to the National Government, or the influence they may possess in any new order of things that may grow out of the present differences, should be qualified to act on behalf of the Northern States."

A few extracts from this correspondence, which is quite lengthy,

will be sufficient to show the design of the mission.

"With regard to Great Britain, she can scarce mistake her true policy in relation to America. If peace be the first object,

every act which can irritate the maritime states ought to be avoided; because the prevailing disposition of these will generally be sufficient to keep the Government from hazarding any hostile measure. If a war between America and France be a grand desideratum, something more must be done, an indulgent conciliatory policy must be adopted, which will leave the democrats without a pretext for hostilities; and Bonaparte, whose passions are too hot for delay, will probably compel this government to decide

which of the two great belligerents is to be its enemy.

To bring about a separation of the States under distinct and independent governments, is an affair of more uncertainty: and however desirable, cannot be effected but by a series of acts and long continued policy, tending to irritate the Southern and conciliate the Northern people. The former are agricultural, the latter a commercial people. The mode of cheering and depressing either is too obvious to require illustration. This, I am aware, is an object of much interest in Great Britain, as it would forever secure the integrity of his majesty's possessions on the continent, and make the two governments, or whatever number the present confederacy might form into, as useful and as much subject to the influence of Great Britain as her colonies can be rendered. it is an object only to be attained by slow and circumspect progression, and requires for its consummation more attention to the affairs which agitate and excite parties in this country, than Great Britain has yet bestowed upon it."

"It should, therefore, be the peculiar care of Great Britain, to foster division between the North and the South; and by succeeding in this, she may carry into effect her own projects in Europe with a total disregard to the resentment of the democrats of this country." "A war would produce an incurable alienation of the Eastern States and bring the whole country in subordination to the interest of England, whose navy would prescribe and enforce the terms upon which the commercial states should carry, and the agricultural states export their surplus produce." Should war be declared, the legislature of Massachusetts will give the tone to the neighbouring states; will declare itself permanent until a new election of members; invite a congress, to be composed of delegates from the Federal states, and erect a separate government

for their common defence and common interest."

"This congress would probably begin, by abrogating the offensive laws and adopting a plan for the maintenance of the power and authority thus assumed. They would, by such an act, be in a condition to make or receive proposals from Great Britain, and I should seize the first moment to open a correspondence with your excellency. Scarce any other aid would be necessary and perhaps none required, than a few vessels of war from the Halifax

station to protect the maritime towns from the little navy which is at the disposal of the National Government.

This correspondence was sent to Congress in 1812, by President

Madison, with the following message.

To the Senate and House of Representatives.

I lay before Congress copies of certain documents which remain in the department of State. They prove that at a recent period, whilst the United States, notwithstanding the wrongs sustained by them, ceased not to observe the laws of peace and neutrality towards Great Britain; and in the midst of micable professions and negotiations on the part of the British Covernment, through her public minister here, a secret agent of that government was employed in certain states, more especially at the seat of government (Boston) in Massachusetts, in fomenting disaffection to the constituted authorities of the nation, and intrigues with the disaffected for the purpose of bringing about resistance to the laws; and eventually, in concert with a British force, of destroying the Union and forming the eastern part thereof into a political connection with Great Britain.

In addition to the effect which the discovery of such a procedure ought to have on the public councils, it will not fail to render more dear to the hearts of all good citizens, that happy union of these states, which, under divine Providence, is the guarantee of their liberties, their safety, their tranquility, and

their prosperity.

This message and the correspondence was referred to the committee on Foreign Relations. The Committee met, and after an examination, the authenticity of the papers transmitted, was established beyond question, the signatures of Lord Liverpool, Mr. Peel, Sir James Craig, &c., being recognized as genuine.

A few days after this, the British minister, Honorable A. J. Foster, wrote to the Secretary of State, disclaiming all knowledge of the affair and asking that the American Government and Congress will suspend any further judgment until the circumstances shall have been made known to his majesty's government.

On the 5th of May, 1812, (notice having been given on the 28th of April, of this motion, when a discussion took place,) in the House of Lords, Lord Holland asked for information on a topic of great importance, because it affected the honor of the country, and moved that the documents be produced to disprove any agency on the part of the government in the transactions, but it was opposed by Lord Liverpool, who excused the Government of Canada as only desiring information, &c. Earl Gray, after refering to these excuses said, he would grant that all this gave Sir J. Craig a right to assemble troops, to repair fortifications, to establish depots, and collect provisions and what was necessary for a campaign; but it did not give him a right to endeavor to seduce American subjects from their allegiance to their own country.

After considerable debate, the motion was lost, the papers were not produced, and no apology was made to this Govern-

ment.

To show what was thought of this affair in England, the fol-

lowing extract from the London Statesman of April 29th, 1812, is inserted:

"It will be seen by the allusion made last night, in both houses of Parliament to the message of Mr. Madison, and the documents accompanying it, laid before the Congress of the United States, that the base attempt to subvert the government of that country, by exciting a rebellion amongst the American people, was neither attempted to be denied or excused by ministers—but, said Lord Liverpool, 'I solemnly disclaim for myself and for his majesty's government, any intention whatever, of fomenting disturbances in these States. As to the employment of any individual, it was entirely unauthorized by me and even without mu knowledge. Government did not even know that Captain Henry was employed. until after his return to Quebec." Now supposing every word which Lord Liverpool uttered to be true, we would ask why Sir James Craig, on whose shoulders ministers now wish to throw the blame of this perfidious transaction, has not only been permitted to go at large unimpeached, but has actually been promoted in our service? Does not this conduct show, on the part of our Government, that they highly approve of every step which that General took to overturn the Constitution of the American States? It is impossible to doubt it; and therefore. whatever solemn protestations ministers may now make to the contrary, they must be held as implicated in this abominable affair—as those individuals only who are responsible to the nation which they have so grossly insulted, and on whose heads ought to fall that just retribution for the crime which they have committed. But if such are the conclusions we are entitled to draw from this relative state of the parties, what are the inhabitants of Great Britain to think; nay, what is the continent, the whole universe, to say if we shall be able to prove by the most undeniable evidence that ministers not only knew of the employment of Captain Henry before he was engaged in the iniquitous mission, but that Lord Liverpool himself, afterwards actually and unreservedly approved of it? That we are able to do this, we feel little difficulty, even with the few documents which are now before the public.

It appears that Captain Henry was employed by Sir James Craig in 1808, to ascertain the state of parties and their political views in the United States. The correspondence which passed at this time between Sir James Craig and the Captain, was transmitted by the former to the British minister. This is proved by the following extract of a letter, dated 28th of June last, written by Mr. Peel, Lord Liverpool's secretary, to Henry himself, who was then in London: "His lordship has directed me to acquaint you, that he has referred to the correspondence in this office of the year 1808, and finds two letters from Sir James Craig, dated 10th April and 5th May, transmitting the correspondence that has passed during your residence in the northern states of America, and expressing his confidence in your ability and judgment." Here then, is direct proof, that the attempts made in 1808, by Captain Henry, at the instigation of the Governor General of Canada, to excite commotions in the United States, were well known to ministers at that period. Circumstances having rendered it probale in the year 1809, that something further might be done to promote this very honorable cause, Sir James Craig appears to have had some further communication with the present ministers on the subject, and again to have recommended Captain Henry as a fit person to carry their views into effect. The result of this was, that Sir James directed his secretary to write Captain Henry, on the 26th of January, 1809, as follows: "The information and political observations heretofore received from you, were transmitted by his excellency to the Secretary of State, who has expressed his particular approbation of them and there is no doubt that your able execution of such a mission as I have above suggested, would give you a claim not only on the governor-general, but on his majesty's ministers, which might eventually contribute to your advantage." Who can doubt, after reading this, that all his majesty's ministers, and particularly Lord Liverpool then Secretary of State, were fully acquainted with the mission of Captain Henry, and that they actually instructed Sir James Craig to hold out to him a reward for his services? But the matter does not rest here. After Captain Henry arrived in London, and submitted his claims for remuneration to Lord Liverpool,

his lordship, in the above letter, which he directed his secretary, Mr. Peel, to write, expressly recognizes the services of the captain. He speaks of the "ability and success" with which he executed the mission, and states, that "he is convinced the public service will be benefitted" by his active employment in a public situation. In another letter in the handwriting of Lord Liverpool, addressed to Sir George Prevost, now governor-general of Canada, on the 16th of September last, he says: "I now fulfil the assurance which I have given of stating to you my opinion of the ability and judgment which Mr. Henry has manifested on the occasions mentioned in the memorial, and of the benefit the public service might derive from his active employment in any public situation in which you should think proper to place him." Here Lord Liverpool's entire approbation of all that Captain Henry had done, is fixed beyond the possibility of a doubt."

When the subject was under consideration in Congress, it was asserted, that Mr. Erskine, former British Minister, was engaged

in the same business at the same time.

The aggressions continued, and both countries were in the greatest distress; meetings were held in Birmingham and other manufacturing towns, deprecating the action of the British ministry; and from Birmingham, a deputation was sent to Mr. Perceval, (Lord Liverpool,) for the purpose of representing to him the distressed condition of the district, and stating that, unless something was done, seventy thousand persons would be thrown out of employment, and of these, fifty thousand were employed in preparing goods for the American market. Mr. Perceval said he was fully aware of the distressed state of the manufacturers, but being as fully convinced of the benefits accruing to the country at large from the orders in council, he could not from any consideration of partial distress alter his opinion. Another of the ministry said, after listening to their representations, "it does not signify, gentlemen, we are like two men with our heads in a bucket of water, and we must see which can stand drowning the longest."

One of the resolutions passed at the meeting at Birmingham,

was this:

Resolved, That the direct tendency of the orders in council, is to force America upon her own resources, and to oblige her to become a manufacturing nation much earlier than in the natural course of events, would be the case."

While these things were going on, the Indians in Canada and on the frontier of the Western States, were supplied by English emissaries with arms and ammunition and presents of various kinds, to induce them to take up arms against the Americans.

At last, when forbearance ceased to be a virtue, war was de-

clared.

There are hundreds alive to-day in the west, who can tell how the English agents succeeded in employing the Indians, and how faithfully they obeyed. At Malden, Canada, a bounty was paid for scalps, and every encouragement held out to make the Indians more savage than they would have been. The conduct of Proctor, after the battle of the river Raisin, stamps him as an inhuman monster or the base hireling of a barbarous government.

Though the principal ports from New York to Maine were blockaded, no attack was made upon New England except at

Eastport, Maine.

In the mean time, secession was gaining ground, and as specimens of the feeling that existed, the following extracts from newspapers of that date are sufficient:

"SALEM, August 10th, 1812.

"Great Britain has never done us any injury. We were fools in 1776, and are knaves in 1812, for quarrelling with her. She is fighting for the liberties and the religion of the world."

"HARTFORD, July 30th.

"It is only by the forbearance of Great Britain, that a single herring is permitted to enter Chesapeake Bay."

Secession in the New England States, culminated on the 15th of December, 1814, when the delegates from the several state Legislatures met at Hartford, to consider the grievances of the people occasioned by a state of war, and to devise speedy measures for its termination. The sessions of the convention were secret, and whatever plans may have been formed for secession or disunion, they were rendered abortive by the declaration of peace, soon after its adjournment.

Whenever an opportunity occurred during the war, the English captured all the slaves they could get, carried them to the

West Indies, and sold them.

Emissaries were sent to the south among the Seminole and Creek Indians, to iucite them to hostilities, and among the slaves,

to induce them to rebel.

This policy was kept up for several years, and it finally brought on the Florida war. The Indians, with runaway negroes, commenced murderous depredations upon the frontier settlements of Georgia and Alabama, and when General Jackson went there in 1818, he found two of these British emissaries whom he caused to be executed.

Henry said: "An unpopular war can alone produce a sudder separation of any section of this country from the common head."

The war ended, leaving the Union stronger than ever; the British government therefore proceeded to follow out the other course indicated by their secret agent, by encouraging dissentions between the North and the South.

This being a work of time, required greater caution as well as cunning. To get up a question that would irritate the South and conciliate the north, was easily done, as there had already been considerable agitation with regard to the slave trade. This was easily accomplished by using the British Association for the abe-

tition of the slave trade, which held its meetings in the Old Jewry, and afterwards in Exeter Hall, London. This was the grand fountain head, and still continues to be. Millions of money and scores of agents have been sent from this society to the United States, where they found people who, Arnold-like, were willing for gold, to aid in sowing the seeds of discord.

Mr. Seward tells us, that John Q. Adams originated the politi-

cal anti-slavery movement in this country.

A living witness, General Duff Green, confirms this statement and furnishes the following valuable link in the chain of evidence.

"John Quincy Adams was one of the commissioners at Ghent. (in Belgium,) and as such, signed the treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain, the eleventh article of which, pledged the United States to unite with England in abolishing "the traffic in slaves:" he was afterwards our minister in London. where he was intimate with Clarkson and Wilberforce. In 1816. Daniel Pope Cook of Illinois, was appointed bearer of despatches to notify him of his appointment as Secretary of State, and told me, that upon his return he intended to remove to the South. In October of 1817, I saw him in this city, and he then told me that he had relinquished his purpose of going South, because Mr. Adams had satisfied him that the migration to the Territories north of the Ohio would be so great, as soon to enable the free States to control the political destiny of this country, and that instead of going South he was, under the advice of Mr. Adams, going back to Illinois, with a view to coming to Congress for the purpose of agitating the slavery question. He said that he had already commenced the agitation by a series of letters published in Mead's Register, and handed me a pamphlet containing them. These letters, written at the suggestion of Mr. Adams, give the basis of the anti-slavery agitation from that date until now. I thus trace this treasonable movement to Mr. Adams, for Mr. Cook did go to Illinois, and was elected to Congress, and, although it does not so appear on the record, was in truth, the person through whom Mr. Adams made the movement in opposition to the admission of Missouri, which resulted in the Missouri compromise."

Here a degenerate son of a patriot father, for political preferment, listens to the counsels of the bitterest enemies of his country, and allows himself to be used as the instrument for his

country's destruction,

The people thought the Missouri Compromise had settled the question, and it was supposed by the South that she had achieved a victory; a line had been drawn over which the North could not come to molest her. With this adjustment of the question she was content; and the people of the North, with the exception of

a few ultra abolitionists, were willing to abide by this compromise. This, however, was not what the British Government desired. Mr. Sumner in his speech of June 4, 1860, in the Senate says: "At a period when the ardors of the Missouri question had given way to indifference throughout the North, William Lloyd Garrison stepped forward to denounce it. Afterwards, January 1, 1881, he published the first number of the Liberator, in which he 'declared, in the face of surrounding apathy, "I am in earnest."

Here, even in Boston, a state of indifference and apathy existed. Soon after this the country was flooded with circulars, handbills, and pamphlets, but the people paid little attention to them. Spices and various other articles of family use, put up and surrounded with incendiary wrappings, were scattered through the South, and every means resorted to that the subject should be kept before the people. Does any one suppose that all this was done by the handful of abolitionists at the North? By no means; the case was becoming desperate. Instead of disunion, the Union was growing stronger; money was poured into the country, and converts were made to abolitionism, but the mass of the people remained indifferent.

Prosperity and abundance were so apparently the growth of free institutions, that Canada began to look to the time when she

too would throw off the yoke.

In 1833 an act was passed by the British Parliament abolishing slavery in the British Colonies and appropriating 20,000,000 pounds sterling, (or \$100,000,000) for the purchase of the slaves, and to encourage them to take care of themselves.*

By this act, Canada was made the grand asylum in which pious abolitionists established their depot for the under ground railroad. What a burlesque upon morality, for men to rob their

neighbors, and pretend that it is all for the glory of God.

A few months ago the London times said; "for all the good that appropriation had done the money had better been thrown into the Atlantic ocean." "The negro has been bought with a price, the price of English taxation and English toil. He has been redeemed from bondage by the sweat and travail of some millions of hard working Englishmen. One hundred millions of dollars have been distilled from the brains and muscles of the free English laborer, of every degree, to fashion the West Indian negro into a free and independent laborer. Free and independent enough he has become, God knows; but laborer he is not; and, so far as we can see, never will be."

Mr. Sidney E. Morse, a gentleman of intelligence and integrity,

^{*}About \$100 was paid to the owners, for slaves valued at from \$1,200 to \$1,500.

in the following communication to the editor of Harper's Weekly, gives a clear explanation of the objects of the British Government in the West India Emancipation:

In the fall of 1853 the writer met in Paris the late Mr. AARON LEGGETT, formerly a wealthy merchant in this city, and a member of the Society of Friends. We conversed frequently on the political prospects of our country as affected by the agitation of the Slavery question. Mr. L. said, that when he was a young man, he was an active and zealous member of a Manumission Society, and that he continued to cherish in after life a very compassionate feeling for the poor At the time of the general emancipation of the slaves in the British West Indies Mr. Leggett's business called him to the city of Mexico, and while residing there he met Deputy Commissary-General Wilson, of the British Army, an agent appointed by the British Government to make the financial arrangements connected with the payment to the West India slaveholders of their portion of the £20,000,0000 voted by the British Parliament as a compensation for the forced sacrifice of their property.

Mr. LEGGETT said that, when he learned Mr. Wilson's errand, he took occasion, while he was sitting with him one day after dinner, to express his admiration of the British Government and the British people, for that noble act, the vote of £20,000,000 sterling, to procure liberty for 800,000 negroes! He gave full utterance to his feelings, and almost exhausted the vocabulary of eulogy to find the commendatory epithets which he applied to England and Englishmen.

"Mr. Wilson did not seem to symphathize with me," said Mr. L., " and when I had finished, he simply turned to me, and said "Do you think, Mr. Leggett, that this emancipation of the negroes will prove to be a WISE measure?""

"Certainly I replied," said Mr. L. "How can it be otherwise?"

"The cool heads in England," said Mr. Wilson, "do not think that it will be beneficial in its effects on the interests of the people either in the colonies or in the mother country. Nor do I think so. We think that the freed negroes will do very little work; and that the West India colonies, as to their commercial value to the

mother country, will be ruined?"

Mr. Leggett had been carried away with the representations of the enthusiatic friends of emancipation-that free labor was more productive than slave labor; that when the negroes were free they would receive wages, and that this would stimulate them to raise sugar and coffee in greater quantities; that commerce would feel the benefit of the new impulse to agriculture; that lands would rise in value; that the income of the planters would be increased, etc.; and his ardor was at first cooled by Mr. Wilson's gloomy view of the case.

"After a little reflection, however," said Mr. L., "I continued my eulogy of the British Government and the British covernment are the covernment and the British covernment and the British covernment and the British covernment and the British covernment are the covernment and the British covernment are the covernment and the British covernment and the British covernment are the covernme

the British Government and the British people; and I now went further than be-fore in the expressions of my admiration, but I went on a new tack. I said that the enemies of Englishmen, and of their government, were accustomed to represent them as always governed by mercenary considerations, and too willing to sacrifice justice, humanity, and all the virtues, to the lust of gain; but here was a case in which the cool heads that directed the action of the Government deliberately burdened their country with an inmense debt, not to open new fields of wealth. but in full prospect of destroying the commercial value of their West India colonies, and of impoverishing the people there, and the proprietors in England-and all from a humane feeling, and a high sense of justice—a high sense of what is due to poor, helples, down-trodden negro slaves. It was the noblest act recorded in history! I knew of no parallel to it anywhere."
"When I had finished," added Mr. L., "Mr. W. again turned to me, and said,

'Mr. Leggett, do you really believe that the men who control the action of the British government were led by such motives as you ascribe to them, to sacrifice the commercial

interests of their country?" "

"I repliid," said Mr. L., "that if the men who controlled the action of the British government really believed that the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies would end in the commercial ruin of the islands, I could not conceive of any other motive for their conduct than the noble one which I had assigned."

"'Well Mr. Leggett,' said Mr. W., 'you may believe this, but I do not.

believe that the action of the British government is made to promote, as far as possible; the INTERESTS of the English Aristocracu."

Mr. L. then asked, "What interest of the English Aristocracy will be promo-

ted by the ruin of the British West India Islands?"

Mr. Wilson said that the abolition of slavery in the British colonies would naturally create an enthusiastic anti-slavery sentiment in England and America, and that in America this would in process of time excite a hostility between the free States and the slave States, which would end in a dissolution of the American Union, and the consequent failure of the grand experiment of democratic government; and that the ruin of Democracy in America would be the perpetuation of Aristocracy in England.—I do not undertake to give the language of Mr. Leggett, but the following paraphrase conveys, in my own language, the impression made upon my mind of the course of reasoning by which Mr. W. came to his conclusion.

"The English Aristocracy have ruled England for ages. Their position is more enviable than that of any similar class in any other country on the globe. They rule the wealthiest empire in the world. Their land estates embrace a large portion of all the lands in the kingdom; and these estates are entailed in their families. The House of Lords is composed exclusively of the Aristocracy; and they have such influence in the elections that the members of the House of Commons are to a great extent the near relatives of the Lords. Offices of honor and power, and sinecure offices with large incomes, in the Church, the Army, the Navy, the Colonies, at Foreign courts, and in all the departments of Home government, are in their gift, and can be bestowed at their pleasure, upon their relatives and friends. They have inherited these privileges from their ancestors, and their great aim, their ruling desire, is to retain them in their families, and to transmit them to their posterity. Their control of the public press, and of all the fountains of popular opinion and sentiment in England, has enabled them to impress the minds of the great body of the middle classes there with the belief that the English Aristocracy, with its powers and privileges, is essential to the prosperity and glory of the English nation.

"Recently, however, this belief has been seriously shaken by the success of democratic institutions in America. Englishmen are now getting to be well aquainted with America: and they see there a people of the same race with themselves, speaking the same language, reading the same books, holding the same religious opinions, loving the same pursuits; in short, like themselves in every respect except that they have no aristocracy; and yet, under their democratic institutions, Americans are advancing even more rapidly than Englishmen, in commerce and the arts, in the diffusion of knowledge among the people, in population, wealth, and all the elements of national greatness; and intelligent men of the middle classes in England are beginning to think that Aristocracy, with its heavy taxation for the support of sinecure offices, may not be so essential as they have heretofore supposed to the prosperity of England; and that the English people would perhaps make more rapid progress if they should throw off this burden, by republicanizing or Americanizing their institutions. The great danger to the English Aristocracy lies in this idea in the minds of the English people; for, if it should take root and spread, it might end in a revolution in which they would lose all their privileges.. Hence they study every thing in America and in England with the deepest interest in its

"The English Aristocracy know that the English people are a liberty-loving, a liberty-vaunting people. They saw with what ease numerously-signed petitions for the Abolition of Slavery could be obtained in districts, and among classes, where there was no interest to check the current of the popular feeling. They knew that they could have found no difficulty in disposing of such petitions in Parliament without granting them, for they could have continued to receive them respectfully, and postpone action upon them endlessly, if their interest had required it. But after a

time they, doubtless, reasoned with themselves, thus:

bearings on this matter.

""What will be the effect of encouraging and finally granting these petitions? If Slavery shall be abolished in the British colonies, by compensating slaveholders for their losses, nobody in England will then have any interest in opposing the wildest and most enthusiastic expressions of anti-Slavery sentiment. Englishmen

will love to refer with pride and boasting to the large sum sacrificed by their government, with their concurrence, on the altar of liberty, justice, and humanity. They will then look to America, and they will see Slavery still there, for Southern s'aveholders in America, of course, will never ruin themselves and their country by imitating Britain in abolishing it. Englishmen can then be easily excited, on account of American Slavery, to look down with scorn upon Americans and American institutions; and if any popular orator, or writer, in England shall propose to deprive the Aristocracy of their powers and privileges, and, to fortify his argument, shall refer to the prosperity of America under democratic institu-

tions, he will be met with this scorn, and defeated in his purpose.'

"This will be the effect in England of the abolition of Slavery in the British colonies: but the most important effect will be the effect in America. America is divided almost equally between free States and Slave States :- between States in which the negroes are so few that no harm results from their emancipation. and States in which Slavery is so deeply rooted that it can not be safely abolished without ruin to all classes of the population. In the free States, a fierce antislavery sentiment, a bitter hatred of Slavery and Slaveholders, can be excited almost as easily as in England, and, in process of time, by constantly fanning the flame, such a hostility can be kindled between the people of the two great sections that it will lead to the destruction of the American Union, and the failure of the grand experiment of democratic government by men of the Anglo-Saxon race. And this fai'ure of Democracy in America will be a new lease, and a long lease, to the English Aristocracy of their powers and privileges. In short, Mr. Leggett. 'I believe that the English Aristocracy lent their influence to the Abolition of Slavery in the British colonies that they may use it as a wedge for the division of the American They did it to promote their own interest, to perpetuate their own privileges: by the destruction of the Union and prosperity of democratic America, and to secure their object, they care no more for a debt of £20,000,000 sterling and the commercial rum of the British West India islands than for the ashes on that cigar you are smoking.' "

In the above sketch, I repeat, I do not profess to give the language of Mr. L., but have endeavored, in my own language, to convey the impression made upon my mind of the course of reasoning by which Mr. W. came to his conclusion. The words in italics, however, are very nearly the words used by Mr. Leggett.

What struck me as particularly notewhorty in Mr. Leggett's narrative was, that before the experiment of negro emancipation in the British West Indies had been fully tried, and while the friends and supporters of the measure professed to believe that its effect would be happy upon those immediately connected with it, both in the i lands and in England, an agent of the British government, who must have had uncommon opportunities for forming a sound judgment in the case, expressed his belief that they who controll d the action of the government knew, when they gave their sanction to the measure, that there was every reason to expect that it would be calamitous to the negroes, to the planters, and to the British people, and knew too that they could easily have prevented it, but that they still supp ried and encouraged it, because it would promote the interests of the English Aristocracy, by enabling them to excite, in the free States af America, such an anti-slavery feeling, as would lead to a division of the American Union, and the destruction of the great democratic Republic.

A constant attendance at the meetings of religious and philanthrophic societies, and especially of anti-slavery meetings, during a residence of four years in London, thoroughly satisfied me that anti-slavery meetings and exc tements are got up in England, not for the purpose of a removal, or an amelioration of the evils of Slavery in any part of the world, but chiefly, if not exclusively, with a view to keep up in the hearts of the English people a hatred of the people and institutions of

America.

And, as to our own country, all who are acquainted with the history of the antislavery movement here, know that, prior to the Abolition of Slavery in the British colonies, the American anti-slavery movement was eminently kind, considerate, rational, and Christian; that it had already happily effected the gradual kuttotal abolition of slavery in all the Northern States, and was at the time very active in the border Slave States, especially among the slaveholders, who, after individually

emancipating scores of thousands of their own slaves united with each other in anti-slavery societies to promote the gradual, but eventually total abolition of slavery by law in their respective States, with fair prospects of success in Deleware. Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, and with some hope even in North Carolina and Tennessee—the emancipation of the slaves in most of these States to go hand in hand with their removal to other lands. It is also well known that immediaetly after the Abolition of Slavery in the British colonies, anti-slavery societies of a totally different character were formed in New England, and that these societies were based on the principle of bitter hatred to all slaveholders, and a fierce denunciation of the mesures which had been framed, with great consideration and wisdom, by Southern slaveholders, for the welfare of their slaves, and the elevation of the negro race. It is known that the supporters of these New England anti-slavery societies established newspapers, issued tracst, employed lecturers, and devised plans, evidently intended to irritate Southern men. and provoke to acts which would irritate Northern men, and provoke retaliatory act, and thus, by continued angry action and reaction, ripen a hostility between the North and the South, which would naturally end in a dissolution of the American Union. This system of hostility has been kept up now for twenty-five years, and. with what effect, let the present state of the country answer.

How much of the large amount of money expended by American Abolitionists in support of this organized system of hostility to the Constitution of the United States has been contributed in England we know not, but we do know that, while conservative Americans have often been publicly and wantonly insulted in England in connection with the Slavery question, and without apology where apology was due from members of the Aristocracy, other Americans, whose chief claim to notice was the zeal and success with which they had attacked a fundamental law of their country and promoted bitter strife between the people of its two great sections, have been invited to the homes of the English nobility, flattered, honored, and encouraged on their return to America to renew their warfare upon the people and the institutions of the South. These facts are readily explained on the theory of Deputy Commissary-General, Wilson, that the aim of the English Aristocracy is to perpetuate their own power and privileges by destroying the great American democratic republic, and they can not, we think, be satisfactorily explained on

any other theory.

SIDNEY E. MORSE.

The fear of losing Canada was an incentive to more vigorous action. If a continual broil could be kept up in the States, the Canadians would be better satisfied with their condition. Money was supplied to send lecturers over the Middle and Western States, but the people would not listen. Churches, school-houses, and all other public places were closed to them. And if an attempt was made to speak in the street or a public square, the speaker was, in scores of places, pelted with rotten eggs, and in some instances he was obliged to submit to a coat of tar and feathers or a ride upon a rail.

Did these things stop the work? Not at all. Those engaged in it were too well paid to allow trifles to stand in the way. What did they care for the Union, or the peace and tranquility of the

people.

Eighteen hundred and thirty-seven found the people of Canada resolved to cut loose from the British throne. By a want of concert in the leaders they failed, and were denounced as traitors. While this excitement was at its heighth, long and angry disputes about the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick

ripened into warlike demonstrations, and preparations were made

to settle the matter by combat.

England finding she could not break up or cripple our commerce or bring about a dissolution of the Union alone, called to her aid the Catholic powers of Europe, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia; and in December, 1841, the Quintuple treaty was signed at London by representatives from each of these powers, granting a mutual right of search. This treaty was ostensibly to suppress the slave trade, but who does not see that it was aimed at the United States?

The boundary between Maine and New Brunswick was finally settled by the Ashburton treaty in 1842. This treaty provides for the final suppression of the slave trade, and contains the only extradition clause that could ever be obtained from England, and that is in cases of certain crimes. Through the want of such a treaty, our citizens have lost millions of money; not only by fugi-

tive slaves, but by dishonest debtors.

Then came the question for the admission of Texas, when the North, forgetting the Missouri Compromise, sprung upon Congress the Wilmot proviso, and again a storm arose, the North opposed the annexation because it would increase the area and political strength of slavery. This question was decided by the people in electing to the presidency, Mr. Polk, who was pledged in favor of annexation.

England, still bent upon getting up a subject of strife, laid claim to a large part of Oregon: this was finally settled by a

treaty, in which she got the lion's share.

In 1850, when California asked for admission, another storm came up which shook the Union to its centre, another compromise was resorted to, and the people rejoiced that a vexed question was finally disposed of. Then Mrs. Stowe came to the rescue of the British party with Uncle Tom's Cabin, a tissue of misrepresentations which enlisted the sympathics of the whole North. Before this, the abolition or anti-slavery sentiment was comparatively limited in its extent. This book was read by every body. Mrs. Stowe being the daughter of a clergyman and the wife of another, her statements were swallowed by the people, as truth.

The Kansas and Nebraska bill, which was intended by its framers to affirm the compromise act of 1850, again set the whole nation in an uproar. Ministers who were ordained to preach the gospel, preached anti-slavery. And no class of men have done more to bring about the present condition of affairs than these same ministers, who, under the garb of preaching "Christ and Him crucified" have been step by step inflaming the public mind of the North against the Institutions of the South, and those laws

that have been enacted by our National Legislature for the protection of the rights of the citizens of the southern half of our republic. Instead of following the example set them by Jesus Christ and the founders of the Church, or the teachings of that Book which they pretend to follow, they have, whilst performing their ministerial duties with an air of sanctity, put a new interpretation upon the Scriptures and taught their followers, that an observance of those laws which recognise slavery, is a heinous sin, and that the requirements of the "higher law" demanded from all believers in the Bible, their violation.*

Forbes and Redpath, two violent abolitionists, were sent from England to manage Kansas affairs, and thus to foment a civil war

which threatened to involve the whole country.

About this time a new party was formed professing to have nothing in common with the Abolition party or its doctrines. Though the anti-slavery hobby was mounted, the leaders intended

to ride it in the territories only.

The visit of the Price of Wales to this country was proposed by those who believed in an "irrepressible conflict," and knowing if it did come, there would be a dissolution of the Unionthen the old plan could be accomplished of uniting Canada with the New England States. These, with the Middle and Western States, are to form that magnificent empire stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with the Prince of Wales as the sovereign. You ask how the Prince of Wales is to become the sovereign of the North and West, the answer is, by the request of the people. The hope is to get the two sections into a war. And if this is accomplished, such a war will be waged as the world has never seen. Whether it will be a seven year's war or one of thirty years, neither section will give up until they are in the hands of some other power. The South may call upon France, and the North upon England. For this, her forty-five million appropriation was made, and not to defend herself against an invasion by France as was given out.

The mission of Mr. Lindsay was made with the same end in view—to ask that our coasting trade should be thrown open to England that she might have a force on our coast ready for any

emergency.

Enough has been said to lead the reflecting mind to ponder seriously on the means which ought to be adopted to defeat the machinations of the English government. Let us now turn to the other branch of the subject, and consider the schemes which the Jesuits have been employing with a similar design.

^{*}We wish to be entirely understood here, when we speak of a class. It is well know that there have been many honorable exceptions of those who have seen the tendency of this teaching and have warned their hearers against it.

The advent of Christ established the christian religion. The system at the first, was represented by a simple association of men possessing the same faith and opinions, the same sentiments

and feelings.

In the fourth century, christianity was no longer a simple belief, it was an institution. Under the protection of Constantine the Great, the church had been formed into a corporate body with rules and regulations devised by men, and it was fallible, as all human governments ever have been and ever will be. We need not wonder then that it became corrupt, and in the eleventh century claimed supreme dominion, both temporal and spiritual, over all the States of christendom. At the close of this century, the Crusades were undertaken to drive the infidels or Mohammedans from Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

The beginning of the thirteenth century found the power of the Pope supreme, Rome mistress of the world, and kings and em-

perors her vassals.

The Crusades undertaken to augment this power, closed with this century. Their influence was great—expanding the mind of Europe, refining the general mannerse, xciting a spirit of geographical research and adventure, and promoting improvement in the arts and sciences, thus undermining instead of strengthening the power of papal Rome, by advancing liberal ideas and freedom of thought.

Supreme power was too valuable to be relinquished without an effort to retain it, and to this end resort was had to means lawful

and unlawful.

The church had become so corrupt, that a hundred complaints and accusations were preferred against it at the Diet of Nuremberg, which Adrian VI acknowledged to be too well founded.

This pontiff, by his nuncio, frankly declared to the Diet: "that all this confusion was originated by men's sins, and, above all, by those of the clergymen and prelates—that for many years past the Holy See had committed many abominations—that numerous abuses had crept into the administration of spiritual affairs, and many superfluities into the laws—that all had been perverted—and that the corruption descending from the head to the body, from the Sovereign Pontiff to the prelates was so great, that there could hardly be found any one who did good."

Such was the condition of the Church when the Reformation commenced. Nicolini, a protestant writer, says: "While the Word of God was rescuing multitudes from idolatry, the Spirit of Evil, furious at the escape of so many victims whom he had already counted his own, made a desperate effort to retrieve his past and prevent future losses. He saw, with dismay, Divine truth, like a vast and ever extending inundation rapidly under-

mining and throwing down one by one his many strong-holds of superstition and ignorance; and, with the despairing energy of baffled malignity, he set about rearing up a bulwark which should check the tide ere its work of destruction was completed. For this bulwark, he devised the since famous order of the Jesuits, which arose almost simultaneously with the establishment of the Reformation."

The Society of Jesus was established expressly to exterminate Protestanism. And every means is justified, that is made use of

to convert or destroy heretical protestants.

The bull or proclamation of Paul III, establishing the society, says: "Whereas, we have lately learned that our beloved son, Ignatius de Loyola (and nine others whose names follow,) inspired, as is piously believed by the Holy Ghost; coming from various regions of the globe; are met together and become associates; and renouncing the seductions of this world, have dedicated their lives to the perpetual service of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of us and of our successors Roman Pontiffs; and expressly for the instruction of boys and other ignorant people in christianity, and, above all, for the spiritual consolation of the faithful in Christ by HEARING CONFESSIONS.

Had they adhered to the principles they professed in the outset, and merely aimed at civilizing and converting savages and increasing knowledge at home, the institution would have been as justly praised for good achieved through it, as it is now de-

nounced for ambition, avarice, cruelty, and corruption.

The society is composed of a general, subordinate officers, and members. The officers and members vow implicit obedience to

the general.

Ignatius Loyola, the first general, while affecting acts of humility, was giving his serious attention to the state affairs of different nations, his desciples were sent all over the world, and instead of attending to religion as their business, they have made it a cloak under which they have meddled with the political affairs of the people. At different times they have been driven out of nearly every country on the globe. The Order, at first limited to sixty members, was afterwards extended and has become unlimited, and so formidable as to control the church. It had become such a nuisance in various countries, that in 1773 it was suppressed by Clement XIV, who said the members of the society had-merited their fall from the restlessness of their spirit and the audacity of their proceedings. In the two centuries the society had existed, it had so disturbed the peace of Europe, that thirty-seven states had suppressed it before the Pope did so. A few extracts from the Bull which abolished the order, are all that need be given to show the estimation in which they were held.

In the preamble or explanation of the right of a Pope to establish and abolish orders in the church, he says: "We know, besides that we are established by Divine Providence, over KING-DOMS and NATIONS, in order to pluck up, destroy, disperse, dissipate, plant, or nourish, as may best conduce to the right cultivation of the vinevard of Sabaoth. After a complete examination into the origin and progress of the society, "we have seen that the holy founder of the order did institute it for the salvation of souls, the conversion of heretics and infidels, and in short, for the greater advancement of piety and religion." After enumerating the privileges granted the society by other Popes, he says: "Notwithstanding so many and so great favors, it appears from apostolic constitution, that almost at the very moment of its institution, there arose in the bosom of this society, divers seeds of discord and dissension, not only among the companions themselves, but with other regular orders, the secular clergy, the academies, the universities, the public schools, and lastly, even with the princes of the states in which the society was received." Here follow some of the causes for dissension, &c. "In short, accusations of the gravest nature and very detrimental to the peace and tranquility of the christian republic have been continually received against the said order. Hence the origin of that infinity of appeals and protests against this society, which so many sovereigns have laid at the foot of the throne of our predecessors. Paul IV., Pius V., and Sixtus V.

"The accusations against the society were multiplied without number, and especially with that insatiable avidity of temporal

possessions with which it was reproached."*

"The kings of France, Spain, Portugal, and Sicily, found themselves reduced to the necessity of expelling and driving from their states and kingdoms and provinces these very companions of Jesus; pursuaded that there remained no other remedy to so great evils, and that this step was necessary, in order to prevent the christians from rising one against another, and from massacreeing each other in the very bosom of our common mother, the holy Church." This brief was issued in July, 1773, and on the 22d of September, 1774, the Pope died from the effects of slow poison.

The Jesuits have always said that Clement was forced into the

measure, but this did not save him from their poison.

A few years before this, Benedict XIV, in a terrible bull which he issued against them, said they were disobedient, contumacious, crafty, and reprobate men.

^{*} As a specimen of this, Bishop Hughes holds for the the church in New York city, property to the amount of \$25,000,000.

When they were suppressed and driven from Rome, they took refuge in Prussia and in Russia, where they were welcomed as teachers of youth. Nicolini says: "No pages of ours could convey to our readers a more accurate idea of the conduct of the Jesuits in Russia, than a passage of the imperial decree, by which

Alexander expelled them from his capital in 1815."

After having recorded that while the Jesuits were persecuted in the rest of Europe, Russia alone, from a spirit of humanity and tolerance, had received and protected them. He then enumerates the acts of base ingratitude they displayed in stirring up dissensions, &c., in his dominions, and "after such actions we are no more surprised that these monks are expelled from all countries and no where tolerated. Where in fact is the state that would tolerate in its besom those who sow in it hatred and discord?

In 1814, the Order was re-established. And in 1849, catholic

Italians drove them from Rome.

According to the rules of the Order, no Jesuit is permitted to mix in any way in political or secular matters, or engage in any commercial operations. Notwithstanding these rules, they dispess of the destinies of kingdoms almost at their pleasure, and some of them are among the largest bankers in Europe. Instead of punishing them for these transgressions, the most skilful poli-

ticians are raised to the important offices in the society.

This glance at the history of the Jesuits has been given to show who and what they are. Ever since the establishment of the Order, and in all countries, they have been distinguished by an insatiable thirst for power; and while they have so often been denounced by the catholic Church for their misdeeds, yet they have succeeded in controlling the policy of that Hierarchy to a great extent, and have so far identified themselves with the church as to be enabled to shelter their refarious designs under the cloak of religion. Our purpose is not to attack any system of religious faith, but to point out the dangers to which we, as a people, are exposed from this secret organization.

It is a police infinitely more exact and better informed than has ever been that of any State. This police, this secret inquisition carried to such a degree of perfection, may give some idea of the strength of a government, so well informed, so persevering in its projects, so powerful by its unity, (and as the constitutions have it,) by the union of its members. It is not hard to understand, what immense force must belong to the heads of this society, and how the General of the Jesuits could say to the Duke de Brissac: "From this room sir, I govern not only Paris, But China, not only China, but the whole world—and that without any one knowing how it is done."

They are now and have been for years, aiding the English

government in destroying the Union. England is so bent upon checking the tide of Democracy or Republicanism, that she can-

not see the viper she is fostering to her own destruction.

Ask the most ignorant Roman catholic if he believes this country will ever become subject to the Church? he will answer at once, "ves, this country belongs to the catholics-it was discovered by Columbus, who was a catholic, and the means to fit out his vessels for discovery, were furnished by the sale of Isabella's jewels, who was a catholic, therefore, it of right belongs to the catholics:" besides, catholics maintain that France and Spain took possession of America in the name of the Church, and the Jesuits teach in the confessional and in their schools, that the "Plymouth Rock Pilgrims were a band of robbers and pirates. who fled from Europe to America on account of crimes committed against the government of papal England." "Soon other sects cast their scum on the same shores, and protestantism gained sovereignty in the Thirteen colonies which were destined to become the United States. Yet the catholic Church could never abandon THE INVADED TERRITORY.

These being the sentiments of the Church, do not imply a conspi-

racy against the Government.

Professor Morse says: "What concurrence of circumstances, aside from confession of the plot, is sufficient to prove conspiracy?"

Is not the case proved if it can be shown?-

1st. That there exists an adequate motive to conspire.
2d. That there exists ample means wherewith to conspire.

3d. That means capable of accomplishing the object of conspiracy are actually employed by those whose interest it is to conspire.

No one in the case before us can expect a confession from the conspirators; (though, in the case of England, we have the confession of Henry,) let us have recourse then to the test pro-

posed:

1st. Have Austria and the Holy Alliance an adequate motive for conspiring against the liberties of the United States? Can there be a stronger motive than that of self preservation? So certain as this country exists in prosperity under its present democratic form of government, just so certain will its example operate on the people of Europe, as it has for two centuries operated, and is now in an accellerated degree operating to subvert the ancient oppressive systems of government of the old world. The strongest motive, therefore, that can influence governments as well as individuals, that of self preservation, impels Austria and the other despots of Europe to seek, by any means in their power, the subversion of this government

2d. Have they the means to conspire? No one can doubt that the usual means of conspiracy, money and intrigueing agents are perfectly at the command of those governments which can lavish their millions for the sole purpose of protecting their thrones, and which keep in their pay for this vital object, standing armies, and a police of tens of thousands of spies.

3d. Have they then employed, or are they actually employing means capable of accomplishing their object in this country?

Austria, in a combination with other powers, called the St. Leopold Foundation, has sent and is still sending both moneg and agents to this country; the former comes in the shape of religious contributions to this St. Leopold Foundation, the society in Vienna, established with express reference to operations in the United States; the latter come the same quarter, in the shape of hundreds of Jesuits; a class of men notorious for their intrigue and political arts, and who have a complete military organization through the United States. The catholic religion is the cloak which covers the design.

All the circumstances therefore necessary to prove conspiracy, concur in fixing this charge upon Austria and her associates in that union of christian princes combined in the St. Leopold

Foundation.

In 1828, Frederick Schlegel delivered a course of lectures in Vienna, going to show the mutual support which popery and monarchy derive from each other. He represented protestantism as the enemy of good government, as the ally of republicanism, as the parent of the distresses of Europe, as the cause of all the disorders with which legitimate governments are afflicted. In one of his lectures he thus speaks of this country: "The TRUE NURSERY of all these destructioe principles, THE REVOLUTIONARY SCHOOL for France and the rest of Europe, has been NORTH AMERICA. THENCE the evil has spread over many other lands, either bg natural contagion or by arbitrary communication.

The result of these lectures was the combination of the catholic powers of Europe for the express purpose of extending popery over these United States, and in time of building up or establish-

ing monarchies, through the St. Leopold Foundation.

To induce the people of Europe to become members of this organization, the pope, in his letter approving of the society,

promises indulgencies for fourteen days in the year.

"Indulgencies were for the pardon of sins, and were sometimes so extensive as to be for the past, present, and to come. They were written upon parchment, and sealed and signed by the Pope or his delegates."

That the object of this society is to subvert this government, we have, among other testimonies, the following by the Duke of

Richmond, formerly governor of the Canadas, who said in a speech at Montreal: "The Government of the United States ought not to stand, and it will not stand, but it will be destroyed by subversion and not by conquest. The plan is this: to send over the surplus population of Europe. They will go over with foreign views and feelings, and will form a heterogenous mass, and in the course of time will be prepared to rise and subvert the government." He then adds: "The Church of Rome has a design upon that country. Popery will in time be the established religion, and will aid in the destruction of that republic. I have conversed with many of the sovereigns and princes of Europe; and they have unanimously expressed their opinions relative to the Government of the United States, and their DETERMINATION to subvert it."

"The Freeman's Journal" says: "The Pope of Rome has supreme authority over every diocese and over every square foot of surface on this globe." The United States is divided into forty-one dioceses, with thirty-nine bishops and two apostolic vicars, and some two thousand priests. The bishops and most of the priests are foreigners, sent here as agents for this foreign organization; they serve their time, and if they are successful in the cause, they are recalled and promoted. These men have no love for our government or institutions, as a few extracts from their letters will show:

Bishop Flaget of Bardstown, Kentucky, in a letter to his patrons abroad, speaking of the difficulties in converting the Indians, says the last difficulty is! "their continual traffic among the whites, which cannot be hindered as long as THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT SHALL SUBSIST." Mr. Baraga of Michigan, in giving an account of some persons who refused to have their children baptized,

lays the fault on this too free government.

"The Catholic Telegraph," in commenting upon the mob who burnt the Convent at Charlestown, Massachusetts, says: "A system of government which admits a feeling of alarm in the execution of the laws, from the vengeance of the mob which Mr. Austin, (the prosecuting attorney,) distinctly allows to be the case a vengeance exhibited by letters to the public officers, and threats to the public authorities—may be very fine in the theory, very fit for imitation on the part of those who seek the power of the mob in contradistinction to justice and the public interest, but is not of a nature to invite the reflecting part of the world, and shows at least that it has evils. A public officer in England, who would publicly avow such a fear of executing his duty and carrying into effect the law of the realm, ought and would be thrust out of office by public opinion. This one fact is condemnation of the system of American institutions, confirmed lately by numerous other proofs. Such comments came

with a very good grace, after some of these same citizens were threatened by the mother superior of the convent, with a mob of 20,000 Irishmen, whom she said the Bishop had under his control.

The greatest fault which they find with this government, is the religious liberty enjoyed. In the letters of an independent irishman addressed to Bishop Fitzpatrick, the following passage is found: says Bishop Kendrick: "No faith with heretics;" and, says Bishop O'Connor of Pittsburg: "Religious liberty is merely endured until the opposite can be carried into execution without peril to the Catholic world." This bigoted sentiment is the same in kind with that quoted from the Catholic Review, "no rights for Protestants or any body else except Catholics." Fine doctrine for a republic! Of precisely the same nature was the sentiment lately uttered by the Bishop of St. Louis: "Catholicity will one day rule America, and then religious liberty is at an end."

To show what they mean by religious liberty, we make a quotation from the London Rambler: "Religious liberty, in the sense of a liberty possessed by every man to choose his own religion, is one of the most wicked delusions ever foisted upon this age by the father of all deceit. The very name of liberty, except in the sense of a permission to do certain definite acts, ought to be banished from the domain of religion. It is neither more nor less than a falsehood. No man has a right to choose his religion. None but an atheist can uphold the principles of religious liberty. Shall I, therefore, fall in with this abominable delusion? Shall I foster that damnable doctrine, that Socinianism and Calvinism and Anglicanism and Judaism are not, every one of them, mortal sins like murder and adultery? Shall I hold out hopes to my erring protestant brother; that I will not meddle with his creed if he will not meddle with mine? Shall I tempt him to forget that he has no more right to his religious views than he has to my purse, or my house, or my life blood? No. Catholicism is the most intolerant of creeds. It is intolerance itself; for it is the truth itself. We might as rationally maintain that a sane man has a right to believe that two and two do not make four, as this theory of religious liberty. Its impiety is only equalled by its absurdity.'

This was republished and endorsed in some of the Catholic papers here. Bishop Kenrick says: "Heresy and unbelief are CRIMES; that is the whole of the matter. And in christian countries, as in Italy and Spain for instance, where all the people are catholic and where the Catholic religion is an essential part of the law of the land, they will be punished as other crimes." Another

Bishop says :

Protestantism of every kind, Catholicity inserts in her catalogue of mortal sins; she endures it when and where she must; but she hates it, and directs all her energies to effect its destruction. If the Catholics ever gain, which they surely will do, an immense numerical majority, religious freedom in this country is at an end."

Are Americans ready for this state of affairs? if they are, there are some other things that will have to be taken into the account. Popery does nor acknowledge the right of the people to govern; but claims for itself the supreme right to govern all people, and all rulers, by divine right.

It does not tolerate the liberty of the press; it takes advantage indeed of our liberty of the press to use its own press against our liberty, but it proclaims in the thunders of the vatican, and with a voice which it pronounces infallible and unchangeable, that it is a liberty never sufficiently to be execrated and detested."

Liberty of conscience is denounced as a most pestilential error. and liberty of opinion "a pest of all others most to be dreaded in

a state."

It is not responsible to the people in its financial matters.

taxes at will, and is accountable to none but itself.

These are the political tenets held by catholics in close union with their religious belief, yet these are not religious, but civil tenets; they belong to despotic government.

Lafayette knowing by the history of his own country the dangers of this insidious foe warned us in these words: -American

liberty can be destroyed only by the Popish clergy."

The Romish Hierarchy declares to the people of the United States the following determination, through its chief organ in our country "Brownson's Review" "The church is a kingdom and a power, and as such must have a supreme chief (pope), and this authority is to be exercised over States as well as individuals. the pope directed the Romanc atholics of this country to overthrow the Constitution (and put down the American flag) sell the nationality of the country, and annex it as a dependent province to Napoleon the Little (a papist sovereign) they would be bound to obey. It is the intention of the Pope to possess this country.

When most protestants read these things, they will say no! the Pope can never control this country, they are numerically too weak. Let us see how weak they are. They boast that they hold the

balance of power now, and have done so for years.

In 1841, Bishop Hughes, in effect, offered the Roman catholic vote for sale at Carroll Hall in the city of New York, if the Bible would be excluded from the public schools.

Afterwards for the same vote, the public funds were divided and

they now educate their children in separate schools.

In 1852, the battle ground for the presidency being Pennsylvania, and the Catholic vote the balance between the two parties, it was of vast importance where it was thrown. General Pierce was reported as opposed to Catholics holding office and of course he could not have it unless he declared for them. He did not answer their letter of inquiry and it was decided that General Scott should have the vote. Such was the determination when James Campbell went to the Western part of the State and took the stump for Pierce, he was elected, and James Campbell was rewarded by a seat in the Cabinet. This was a direct insult to the protestants of Pennsylvania, as only a few months before, this same James Campbell had been defeated as a candidate for supreme Judge, because he was a catholic.

They were so elated with success in the election, they thought they could accomplish the grand object with regard to the

schools.

In the winter of 1852 and 1853, a simultaneous movement was made in several of the States to abolish the Bible in the public schools or to divide the school fund. In Michigan they, went so far as to threaten the Legislature. In Maryland, they declared

that they would not give up until it was accomplished.

In 1854, Bedini was sent here as Nuncio. In the letter of the pope to the president he says, "in as much as we have been entrasted by Divine commission with the care of the Lord's flock throughout the world, we cannot allow this opportunity to pass without earnestly entreating you to extend your protection to the catholics, in habiting those REGIONS, and to shield them at all

times with your power and authority."

Bedini came here expecting to be recognized as a Nuncio or Diplomatic representative of the Church; had this been done, he would have established the "court for spiritual affairs," which is nothing more nor less than the Inquisition. This would have brought into use the prisons and dungeons that are built under the Cathedrals all over the country. Not quite certain of the success of the mission, it was given out that he was on his way to Brazil, and merely came this way to compliment the President, in the name of the Pope. This was a Jesuitical loop-hole to get out in case of failure. Another part of Bedini's mission was, to establish the Society of the San Fidesti. The emblems of this society are destruction and death. A part of the oath taken by its members, is this: "I swear to defend myself in the cause which I have embraced, never to spare a single individual belonging to the infamous combination of the Liberals, whatever may be

his birth, parentage, or fortune, and to have no pity for the cries of children, nor of old men or women, and to shed the blood of the Liberals even to the last drop, without regard to age, sex or rank. Finally, I swear implacable hatred to all the enemies of our Holy Roman Catholic religion, one and true." An emblematical card of this society here has on it the American flag and a hand grasping an instrument aimed at it.

The daggers, poniards, and bowie knives used by these holy societies, are blessed by the Bishop or priest before they are used.

The Know-nothing party which sprung up about this time, is said to have been a Jesuitical ruse, gotten up for the purpose of creating a sympathy in favor of the church; because the church thrives by persecution. The fate of the party leads to the belief that this may be true, for a genuine American party would not have become the corrupt thing that it did in its ephemeral existence. The Democratic party with its accustomed zeal, took up the cause of the oppressed church, and annihlated the Knownothing party. For this service, and a hundred thousand dollars added to it, the Catholic vote was given to the Democratic party in 1856.

A further history of the manner in which the Church has exercised power over political affairs since 1856, would involve individuals, and this is not our purpose. Sufficient has been given to show that if they are numerically weak, they make use of their strength to control in a measure, political affairs. Many persons express surprise at the comparative ease with which Catholics sometimes obtain offices and appointments, while Protestants can do nothing. An extract from the secret instructions to the Jesuits, will explain to a certain extent, how this is done:

Chapter II treats of the way to become familiar with the Great of any country: "You must manage to get the ear of those in authority, and then secure their hearts, by which way all persons will become our creatures, and none will dare to give the society disquiet." "The priests are to wink at the vices of the powerful, and to encourage their inclinations whatever they may be, but this is to be done in generals, always avoiding particulars." Sect. 4: "It will further us in gaining favor if our members artfully worm themselves by the interest of others into honorable embassies to foreign courts in their behalf, but especially to the Pope and great monarchs. Further, great care must be taken to curry favor with the minions of the great, who, by small presents and many offices of piety, we may find means to get faithful intelligence of the master's inclinations and humors, and thus be better qualified to chime their tempers."

"In confessing, noblemen seem to have nothing in view but God's glory; but by degrees, and sensibly to be directed towards

political or secular dominion, but in a solemn manner, affirm that the administration of public affairs is what we, with reluctance, interfere with." Care should be taken to lav before them the virtues persons should be furnished with, who are to be admitted into public employ, not forgetting slyly to recommend to them such as are sincere friends of our order.

"Wherefore, let the confessors and preachers be informed by our friends, of persons proper for every office, and, above all, of such as are our benefactors, and whose names let them carefully keep by them, that when proper opportunities occur, they may be palmed upon the prince or government by the dexterity

of our members or agents.

By such means, we plainly discover how Protestants and Jesuits co-operate in the United States, and why leading political men bend and fall before their supremacy at the ballot box. This ballot box which we boast is the palladium of our liberties, is thus prostituted by dishonest and corrupt politicians of all parties, who would sell their country for a railroad grant, or the liberties of the people forever, provided they could get control of the

government for the term of four years!

There is a society in Europe called the Christian League, organized for "the circulation of the Holy Scriptures; for the advocacy of human rights and to give to all nations religious liberty." Against this society the present Pope issued a bull declaring that "all those who enroll themselves in such societies, or who presume to aid or abet them in any way, are guilty of a most grievous sin before God and the Church." "It is your duty to remove from the hands of the faithful (all) Bibles translated into the vulgar tongue. We especially reprobate the aforesaid Christian League. it being their determination to give to all nations, religious liberty.'

Another society, embracing nearly all the wealthy Roman Catholics of Europe, has been organized, with the express design of establishing Roman Catholic Colonies in our Western States. London is its head-quarters, but it has branches in almost every

capital in Europe.

The prospectus of this society, proves clearly that its objects

and designs are:

1st To provide the means for colonizing the surplus Roman Catholic population of Europe in our Western States.

2d. To do this in such a manner as to create a large demand

for articles of European manufacture.

3d. To make Romanism the predominant religion of the United States.

In connection with this pamphlet, the society also published a map of North America, showing the proposed field of Papal occupancy and ultimate ascendency. This field comprises the States of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin, together with Canada West.

Protestant Americans may think of such a map as they do of some of our western cities which look very well on paper, but can never be built up. But who will deny that the West is rapidly being settled by a foreign Catholic population, acknowledging the Pope as their head. They come here, declare their intention of becoming citizens, take the oath of allegiance, and in six months, in most of the western States, have all the political rights that a native citizen has.

This oath of allegiance by the way, is taken with a reservation in favor of the Pope. The Jesuits direction for such an oath is this: "When we begin for instance, to say I swear (then in the proper place insert in a subdued tone, the mental restriction,) then conclude in the same loud voice; for thus the whole speech is true."

"Land for the landless," is one of the schemes that will aid in building up this power. Free farms to those who are colonized by these societies, will enable them to advance their interests to

almost any imaginable extent.

Another kingdom is to be formed of Pennsylvania, New York, the New England States, and Canada East. Americans, do you believe this? if not, read the following from the London Rambler concerning the increase of Romish power in the United States: "Churches, schools, seminaries, colleges, religious communities, bishoprics and arch-bishoprics are rising as if by enchantment, in all parts of the republic. In the archi-episcopal province of New York, at the present time (1858,) there are over eight hundred churches and nearly one million of Catholic souls. The city of New York, which, twenty years ago could number but seven, can now boast of over thirty places dedicated to catholic worship within its precincts."

The third kingdom is to be composed of the Southern States, and in this they will soon succeed unless something is done to bring the people to a knowledge of the true state of affairs.

This society was formed in London shortly after the Quintuple treaty was was made.* How much the English Government gives toward advancing the cause, we do not know; but soon after this

^{*}It must be remembered in this place, that in 1841, when the Quintuple treaty was made, Louis Phillipe was King of France. In 1845 he determined to expel the Jesuits from his kingdom, and succeeded in obtaining from the Pope an order for this purpose. From that moment, Louis Phillipe was doemed to fall. With the unbounded love the French have for the memory of Napoleon, it was an easy matter for the Jesuits to bring about the elevation of Louis Napoleon, with the hope of leading him just as they felt disposed; but they made a terrible mistake. When Louis Napoleon discovered their ambitious designs, he determined to thwart them, and he has done so to an extent that ages of success cannot remedy."

the Jesuit college at Maynooth, Ireland, was permanently endowed at the instance of government, with 26,000 pounds a year, and an appropriation of 30,000 pounds to enlarge the buildings. In this way, England is selling herself into the hands of the Jesuits to accomplish the ruin of this Union.

The Orangemen in Toronto were very much censured, both in England and here, for trying to draw the Prince of Wales into a

party demonstration.

Perhaps it was not remembered by either, that when the Prince landed at Halifax, and the first demonstration and procession was to come off, a question arose with regard to the place to be assigned to the different clergy. The established church came first of course; the protestants claimed the next place, and so did the catholics.

The Duke of New Castle decided in favor of the catholics. This very small matter was sufficient to show the power of the catholics. England pretending to be protestant, it was expected

that the decision would be in favor of the protestants.

In an English work called the "Statesmen of America in 1846," a chapter is devoted to Bishop Hughes, and which we have every reason to believe was revised by that prelate previous to its publication. He is spoken of thus: "He assumes his position among the statesmen of America, not as an active politician, but as the representative, priest, controller and guardian of a powerful body now incorporated in 'the democracy of the republic. I allude to the Roman catholics, both native and foreign. The Bishop is the greatest temporal prince of America, and he is the greatest spiritual prince in the world."*

"In the prevailment of the catholic religion, lies the best safeguard for this great country of America, against the evils, both public and private, which spring from the excess of liberty."

They (the Catholic's,) "have laid the foundation stone of real education; education of the heart; the formation of character, without which liberty is licentiousness; and compared to which the mere accomplishments of the mind and fingers are airy nothings, unsubstantial in possession and useless in application. In the numerous and crowded catholic schools of the United States are taught the exercise of prayer, the practice of morality, the laws of obedience and responsibility, and self sacrifice and moral and spiritual humility, and good works as well as saving faith, and charity and brotherly love and tolerance; and here the strong hand of discipline is felt."

After speaking of the Established Church of England, the writer continues, "But I am not, cannot be blinded to the many

^{*}Bishop Hughes is here placed above the Pope.

excellencies of the Catholic Church, and especially as its Institutions regard America; they are, beyond comparison, the best adapted to curb the passions of a young, a fierce, impetuous, intelligent, generous and high minded democracy—to protect the religion of a republic from annihilation; to subdue the struggling and discordant interests of an immense territory into harmony, and to enchain the sympathies of a whole people in one magnificent scheme of morality and devotion.—"They shall be one fold under one shepherd."

If these things were really true, where is the patriot in the land who would not say amen! and amen! besides doing all that he

could to hasten this millennium?

We can, however, only reason from analogy, let us then take two examples of nations who have been for centuries under this benign influence. What is the condition of Italy after the long experiment of priestly rule? Travellers tell us, that there are whole villages whose inhabitans are numbered by hundreds, where no one can read or write but the priest. Mexico is in much the same or a worse condition, and both are making desperate afforts to place

themselves under a different government.

"Catholics are taught obedience;" obedience to what? not to the constitution and laws of the country, because the Church is to them a higher law, and as we have seen what her intentions are with respect to these, we know how far they will be obeyed if they come in conflict. They will obey the priests, but not officers who administer the laws. As a specimen of this, a few months ago there was a rendezvous for catholics of a low order, both black and white, just in the rear of the E street Baptist church. Whenever there was worship in the church, these rowdies made so much noise as to disturb the congregation. The police made several efforts to disperse them, but failed; at last, a priest was called upon, and the moment he appeared every man was dumb. By a motion of the hand they moved off, and the place was closed to them.

In 1860, when the clergy of all denominations in New York were notified of their duties with regard to the registry law, we all know the ground Bishop Hughes took when he refused to obey it. In his reply to the inspector, he closed the communication with this sentence: "I am prepared for a prison or a scaffold, but I am not prepared to obey a requisition which would violate the obligation of my conscience in a country like this, in which it is said that civil and religious liberty is the right of every citizen."

The Jesuits are sworn to educate this country into their principles and practices, in order to subjugate it. To this end, bishops, priests, monks, and nuns, all labor to destroy the Bible. Their maxim is: "give us the education of the children of the present

day, and the next generation will be ours—ours in maxims, in morals, and religion." They are now doing with education in the United States, precisely what they have done in every European kingdom. They affect all the learning of the world; they establish their academies and their professional honors, to win the young into their embrace. The highest honors of their schools are for christian doctrine, and if protestant children go to these schools, they can only contend for them by such study.

In 1859, during the progress of the war in Italy, among the American citizens who visited Rome, there was a gentleman whose opportunities for observation were such as to make his opinions of some importance; for this reason his acquaintance was sought by some of the dignitaries of the Government. Knowing that he

was born and reared a catholic, he was spoken to as one.

After he returned to the United States, in answer to the question: What do they think in Rome of their prospects here? he replied: "they speak just as confidently of their success in obtaining control of this country, as if it was a settled matter, but how they are to accomplish the design is more than I can tell." He then said, "you know with Jesuitical policy, they always have men exactly suited to whatever they wish to accomplish. They now have in Rome a priest who is said to be a descendant of Columbus: he is to be sent to the United States whenever a propitious time arrives, and then it is expected that he will draw every body after him, just as other celebrities do who come here." If we had doubted this statement, the doubt would have been removed by some late news from Cuba, in which it was said the remains of Columbus were taken from one cathedral, placed in a silver urn, and removed to another. A grand parade, with all the ceremony to make it effective, was gone through on the occasion.

Now, it is well known to those who have read the life of Columbus, that his remains have never been in Cuba. The coffin or sarcophagus in which the remains were said to be, was known to

have nothing in it when taken to Havana.

Had this news made any impression upon Americans, no doubt before this, the arrival of Father Columbus would have been an-

nounced.

A French letter-writer says, "the political questions that agitate Italy, France, England, and more or less all Europe, are so much more worthy of attention, as they all rest upon the religious question. The existence of Roman catholicism is in question in the struggle; and as it is ostensibly connected with political absolutism represented by the Austrian Government, the ancient Government of Naples and the Duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, the great triumph of Italian independence and unity will give the death blow to the POWER of the Roman Catholic church."

In Europe he should have added, for this is the secret of the gigantic efforts made by the Church in this country. Knowing that her power is almost gone in Europe, she is determined to es-

tablish a firm hold here.

When the St. Leopold Foundation was formed, the Emperor of Austria, in speaking of the destruction of liberal opinions, said, "it may require a hundred years-I am not unreasonable, I give you a whole age, but you must work without relaxation." Others a few years since, thought thirty years would accomplish the design.

A few days after the secession of South Carolina, a gentleman then in Charleston wrote to Washington: "the only exultant people here are the Jesuits." They knew what they were about, but others had launched upon an unknown sea without being able

to see the opposite shore; they were anxious not axultant.

The result of our inquiries, after hearing this, has satisfied us that this is the Jesuitical plan to subvert this Government. The case would not admit of the delay to obtain a numerical majority, so they have brought about the secession movement. While English interest is keeping up the flame of abolitionism at the North the Jesuits at the South say, "why dont you secede-go out of the Union, &c." These sentiments have been adopted by a set of political demagogues who have used them as the anti-slavery sentiment has been used at the North, until there has become so large a disunion party that it threatens to sweep the whole of the Southern States.

There is no other way of accounting for some of the feelings manifested since this movement commenced, than to attribute

them to Jesuitism.

Some time ago the Bishop of Cincinnati said, that if the Union was destroyed every catholic could hold his hand over the defunct body and say, I had nothing to do with the death. Now, this means something or it means nothing, but every one knows that the catholics in the South are the most ardent secessionists, and in the North, they are just as zealous unionists. In ordinary cases, when a man tries to exculpate himself from a crime of which he has not been charged, it is looked upon as prima facia evidence of gilt.

Some of the secession leaders say they have been waiting thirty years for this opportunity to get out of the Union. coincides with the formation of the Austrian League. fruit of this league against the Government, was the nullification

of South Carolina.

Bishop England the Bishop of Charleston and of South Carolina, boasted more than twenty-five years ago, of the votes he could control at an election. He was one of the agents of the Leopold Foundation, and the most active man in the country. With such agencies at work for so many years, we can scarcely be surprised that a hatred of the Union has grown up, and urged to a crisis

by the aggressions of the North.

With these facts before her, where is the South to find protection and sympathy? Not in Europe, unless she adopts a monarchical government, and even then with an export duty on her cotton sufficient to defray the expenses of the confederacy, she will drive England to other quarters for a supply, as she will not buy a single bale if she can get it any where else. New England will adopt the same course and buy where she can, at the lowest price; where then will the South find a market for her cotton?

The whole affair, from the first anti-slavery agitation to the last act of secession, is part and parcel of a most suicidal farce, which will end in a grand tragedy unless the actors adopt com-

mon sense instead of acting at cross purposes.

Both the North and the South have been magnificently humbugged into doing what neither would do with their eyes open.

Every day demonstrates that extremes meet as the Northern abolitionist and the ultra secessionist are both determined to ac-

cept of no compromise.

A large party at the North talk of coercing the Southern States to keep them in the Union. If, instead of such feeling, they would extend to the real majority their sympathy, and offer their aid in getting out of the trouble in which political demagogues have plunged them, there would be more christianity displayed.

We do not admit that the Union has been dissolved. "We the people adopted the Constitution, and if there is any way of

dissolving this contract, it must be done by the people.

When the people elect representatives to a legislature, they have nothing to do with the matter but to obey the laws passed by their representatives. The judiciary decide upon the constitutionality of the laws; but when a convention meet to make or amend a constitution, the acts of that body are submitted to the people for their confirmation. Now, if the people of the South have delegated to their representatives the right to take away their liberties they must abide by the consequences; but if they have not, then the Federal Government is bound to see them protected.

Our enemies glory in our divisions; by them they declare boastingly that they shall prevail over us. Let us show them that freemen can be united by noble principles, by the love of God, of our country, of freedom, of humanity, more closely than the vassals of superstition by terror and chains. Divided, we are less potent than a rope of sand; United, we can defy the world and the Jesuits. Let us demonstrate to them that they have mistaken the people, and over estimated their power. And if they designed to take the Capitol by a plot, they will find (thanks to the President and General Scott,) that they cannot do it, though they may have their churches filled with arms and ammunition. But this is not the first time they have made a grand mistake. The result of the Popish plot of 1678 in England, was the writ of habeas corpus which can penetrate their prisons and dungeons, no matter how far they are placed under ground, and the present struggle may perhaps result in the establishment of

religious liberty throughout the civilized world.

In the words of Henry Clay: "We are fighting a great moral battle for the benefit, not only of our country, but of all mankind. The eyes of the whole world are in fixed attention upon us. One, and the largest portion of it, is gazing with contempt, with jealousy, and with envy; the other portion, with hope, with confidence, and with affection. Every where the black cloud of legitimacy is suspended over the world, save only one bright spot which breaks out from the political hemisphere of the West, to enlighten and animate and gladden the human heart—obscure that, by the downfall of liberty here, and all mankind are enshrouded in a pall of universal darkness."

American citizens to be forewarned is to be forearmed. In the light of these facts can we hesitate a moment as to our duty? Shall we suffer ourselves to be the dupes of British intrigue and Jesuitical cunning, or shall we not rather frown indignantly on all attempts, come from whatever source they may, to array one section against another, and thus jeopard the fair fabric of liberty to which the eyes of the oppressed of all nations are turned?

The collection of facts here presented, was made for the purpose of showing to the people the means used by designing persons to destroy our liberties, and thus bring discredit upon a republican form of Government. Having accomplished the object, we intended to leave the subject at this point. A providential delay in the publication, with an accumulation of startling events, has determined us to add a few pages.

Every one who has paid any attention to political parties and their leaders has seen, that instead of radical difference of opinion and principles being the cause of opposition, it is simply the individual interests of the parties. The desire of power and of plunder, which, as all cannot share, each is desirous of seizing and

holding.

Our public men, instead of doing all they can to advance the

interests of the country and of the people, marshall themselves in alliances and hostilities for their own interests. Principles are professed for the purpose of better compassing their objects, by maintaining a character and gaining the support of the people.

For many years the Democratic party has monopolized the power and of course the plunder. The party had become so corrupt that the people determined to make a change. The opposition was composed of parties with all sorts of interests and a diversity of of principles. Opposition to slavery was the first question embracing those of every grade from the ultra British Abolitionist down to the men who imagine that the slave may come in competition with their grand children in the territories. The question being a sectional one, the people soon found that there was really some danger of the Union—there were then thousands and thousands who determined to vote the Republican ticket because they were satisfied that Mr. Lincoln was a conservative, honest, and upright man, who would administer the laws with equal justice to all.

As soon as the election was over, the different parties or interest in the dominant party, commenced a fierce contest to determine which should control the President, and of course the Ad-

ministration.

The people both North and South desired peace, but the leaders of both sections had determined upon war. The secessionist wishes to get out and remain out of the Union. The British Abolitionist says, "the Union without slavery, or break it up." To accomplish this, the President was forced into the course pursued with regard to Fort Sumpter, in order to get up the war spirit both North and South, and he is now menaced with threats from this same disunion party at the North, that if he does not push on a war of aggression upon the whole South, that they will

not only impeach, but depose him.

The Republicans, as a party, we believe, have no desire to meddle with slavery, but if they permit themselves to be made the instruments of the Abolitionists, and on the pretence of saving the Union, go to fighting for it, they will find, when it is too late, that they have destroyed it. Who has not heard the story of the man who ran up stairs when the house was on fire and threw a looking-glass out of the window to save it. The position occupied by the majority of the people at the North and the West, is just the same as that of this man. Their love of the Union amounts to adoration, and they are willing to give themselves and all they have, to save it, but in their zeal and devotion, they are more likely to destroy it forever. Send an army South under existing circumstances and you may retake all the property that belongs to the Federal Government, but this can only be done by a sacrifice of human life worth infinitely more than all the property in

the States, and after it is done, where is the Union? and how is it to be maintained? The Union will, no doubt, be very much like that between Ireland and England, or of Hungary and Austria, or of Poland and her plunderers, and like them, must

be maintained by a large standing army.

There are now two parties, one of the North and one of the South, each actuated by the most bitter and revengeful feelings. The Northern party say, "we will whip the rebels back into the Union;" while the Southern party say, "we will never go back to be under abolition rule." While this is the case, there is no Union. One side is just as much revolution as the other.

Had Mr. Buchanan, in December last, issued a proclamation assuring the Union men of the South that they would be sustained if the whole force of the Federal Government was required to do so, secession would have died a natural death, or have been put down by those who have become secessionists in self defence.

The Union men of Virginia did all that could be done to bring about a peaceful solution of the difficulty. The Peace Convention would have been a success if the delegates had been sent here by the people; but, the abolition element being the strongest in the Republican party, and most of the governors in the states represented being republicans, a majority of the delegates appointed came here to advocate the interests of themselves or their friends in the plunder about to pass into the hands of the party. other hand, ultra secessionists in the disguise of Union men, represented a part of the South. With such men nothing could be expected that would be of service to any but themselves. Sumner said, "we have achieved a victory and we intend to enjoy the benefits thereof." The benefit to the disunion party which he represents, is the abolition of slavery, and to do this, every slaveholder must be exterminated if it can be done in no other way. Are the Union men of the North and West willing to be used for any such purpose! We think not.

We will no doubt be told that all party lines have been sunk and nothing but Union is thought of. This is true we believe and the disunion party can well afford now to ignore party lines when they have led the people into the snare just as Jesuitism has led

the people of the South into secession.

We might feel satisfied with the apparent war policy if such men as Governer Andrew, Sumner, I eecher, Greely & Co., were not at the head of the movement. Or if they are not at the head of it, they so cordially endorse the proceedings that it is time to suspect there is semething wrong about it. Men who have for years declared that the "Constitution is a league with hell," and have prayed for the advent of "an anti-slavery constitution, an anti-slavery Bible and an anti-slavery God," can have no genuine love for the Union and the Constitution as our fathers left it to us. Is there not then ground for suspicion that the men who sympathized with and endorsed John Brown and his acts, are engaged in getting up another invasion upon a grand scale with the aid of the Government. It is time the people should know what they are doing. The abolition and politico-religious papers at the North say the army is to be sent to "aid the brethren and set them free" and "the downfall of slavery is at hand." These are the things that have driven thousands into secession, they were satisfied if the abolition clique obtained the control of the party that their their threats would be carried out. Giddings, who is in Canada, no doubt suggested the employment of the fugitive slaves offered for the war. Canada would be glad to get them out of her territory.

If this abolition movement is carried out, and the slaves are set free, where are they to go? Are the people of the North ready to admit them as competiors for the work by which they and their families are sustained? We leave the question to be

answered by those interested in the matter.

We have our own opinion about the course to be pursued, in order to correct some of the blunders that have been made, and we give it for what it is worth. If any one has a better plan, let him send it on.

We would never acknowledge secession, but the people want peace and not war, and the only way which we can see to get out of the present difficulty, is to blockade every port from Cap May to the Rio Grande. Encircle the seceded States with a line of troops, and cut off all supplies except provisions. Offer a reward for the heads of the leading conspirators, and then send an army large enough to protect the Unionists and to prevent insurrection of the slaves. Even these things cannot be done peacefully unless there is some change in public opinion both North and South, and this change must commence in the North. In 1850, Union meetings were held all over the North-speeches were made and resolutions passed, deprecating disunion, but no measures were taken to put down disunion. Laws in violation of the Constitution, were passed in several of the States, and when the people were called upon to vote, they too often forgot the Union, and voted against it. The underground railroad was sustained, and the people permitted such things to be done. Again, when John Brown made his raid upon Harper's Ferry, the same kind of Union meetings were held, Brown was denounced, and when votes were to be given, his aiders and supporters obtained them. Such meetings have been played out, they will do no good, as no reliance can be placed upon them.

If the people are for Union and Peace, let them declare their

determination to maintain the Union peacefully.

Let meetings be held in every village or in every place where votes are polled, and say to the South and to your representatives in Congress, we are determined to sustain the Unionists of the South, and just as determined to put down disunion, both North and South. Do this, live up to it, and there is yet hope of the Union. Can any one doubt that the South would accept such terms? All they have ever asked (we mean the people, not the demagogues,) has been, to be let alone with their domestic institutions to suit themselves. Northern demagagues will tell you that Southern politicians have ruled the country for so many years. If this is true, it was time to make a change, but we do not want a Northern rule: no section has a right to rule where all have equal rights. Again, we are told that the South want to force slavery upon the North, there is just as much truth in this assertion as there is in declaring that the whole North are abolitionists.

The people hold the game in there own hands; they have the fighting to do as well as the bills to pay. The whole Union is the stake and the players are the Unionist on one side, and on the other, the Disunionists.

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